

Chapman - Index 18, 27-29

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BRAD

N 1334

PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM ROBERT MCFARLANE TO ADMIRAL POINDEXTER
AT OPENING OF BUSINESS TUESDAY MAY 27.

DELEGATION ARRIVED TEHRAN SUNDAY MORNING. ABSENCE OF ANYONE TO RECEIVE US /
OF OVER AN HOUR AND RECURRENT EVIDENCE ~~ANXIETY~~
W/ INEPTITUDE IN EVEN THE

MOST STRAIGHTFORWARD DISCOURSE MAKES IT CLEAR THAT WE MUST TAKE A STEP BACK
FROM THE HISTORY OF THE PAST 8 YEARS AND PUT OUR TASK IN A DIFFERENT LIGHT.

IT MAY BE BEST FOR US TO TRY TO PICTURE WHAT IT WOULD BE LIKE IF AFTER NUCLEAR
ATTACK. A SURVIVING ~~TALAN~~ VICE PRESIDENT; A RECENT GRAD STUDENT BE
CAME DEPUTY SECRETARY OF STATE; AND A BOOKIE BECAME THE INTERLOCUTOR FOR ALL
DISCOURSE WITH FOREIGN COUNTRIES. WHILE THE PRINCIPALS ARE A CUT ABOVE THIS
LEVEL OF QUALIFICATION THE INCOMPETENCE OF THE IRANIAN GOVERNMENT TO DO BUSI
NESS REQUIRES A REETHINKING ON OUR PART OF WHY THERE HAVE BEEN SO MANY FRUSTA
TING FAILURE TO DELIVER ON THEIR PART. THE OTHER REASON FOR THE SEVERAL SNA
FUS HAS BEEN THE EXTREME PARANOIA THAT DOMINATES THE THINKING OF THE POLITICA
L LEADERSHIP HERE. MORE ABOUT THIS LATER. FIRST LET ME DEBRIEF THE MEETINGS T
HAT HAVE BEEN HELD BEFORE GIVING YOU A SENSE OF WHERE AND HOW FAST MATTERS CA
N PROGRESS.

ONCE MATTERS WERE SORTED OUT AT THE AIRPORT, WE WERE MET BY GORDA ~~REDACTED~~
TOLDEN TO THE HILTON HOTEL AND INSTALLED IN THE TOP FLOOR ALONG WITH CONSI
DERABLE SECURITY (CI) PEOPLE FROM THEIR SIDE. AFTER A SHORT REST WE CONVENED
OUR FIRST MEETING AT 1700 LOCAL SUNDAY AFTERNOON. IT WAS A 'FOUNDATION' SESS
ION IN WHICH WE ESTABLISHED THAT WE ACKNOWLEDGED THE IRANIAN REVOLUTION; HAD
NO INTEREST OR INTENTION IN TRYING TO REVERSE IT; INDEED BELIEVED THAT A STR
ONG INDEPENDENT, NON-ALIGNED IRAN WAS IN THE US INTEREST BUT THAT SUCH A SITU
ATION WAS UNLIKELY TO BE POSSIBLE IN OUR JUDGMENT FOR A NUMBER OF REASONS. FI
RST, IT SEEMED CLEAR TO US THAT THE SOVIET UNION WAS PREPARED TO GO QUITE FAR
TO PREVENT AN ISRAELI DEFEAT IN THE WAR AND MAY WELL HAVE AMBITIONS VIS A VIS
IRAN THAT WE WOULD BE PLEASED TO DISCUSS DURING OUR TALKS. FOR OUR PART, WE
CAN ENVISION RESTORATION OF A NORMAL RELATIONSHIP WITH IRAN BUT NOT UNDER CUM
CUMSTANCES IN WHICH THEY WORK AGAINST OUR INTERESTS WHETHER IT BE TERRORISM
OR SUPPORT FOR SUBVERSION OF OUR INTERESTS IN NICARAGUA AND ELSEWHERE.

OUR INTERLOCUTORS WERE ~~REDACTED~~

D GOR

EA AND ONE OTHER FUNCTIONARY.

THEIR RESPONSE TO ALL THIS WAS ON THE WHOLE EXPRESSED IN A SPIRIT OF GOOD WILL.
"WE ARE OPEN TO A STABLE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE U.S. BUT IT WILL NOT BE EA
SY TO OVERCOME A BITTER HISTORY ETC ETC" BUT IN A LARGER SENSE THE CENTRAL M
ESSAGE TO US WAS HOW UNCERTAIN, FEARFUL AND TIMID THESE THIRD AND FOURTH LEVE
L OFFICIALS WERE. FURTHER, IT HAS BECOME MORE AND MORE CLEAR THAT WHILE GORBA
HAS BROUGHT US TO THE BEGINNING OF A DIALOGUE WITH THE GOI, HE HAS DONE IT W
ITH CONSIDERABLE HYPERBOLE, OCCASIONAL LIES AND DISSEMBLING. OUR INTERLOCUTO
RS' DEFENSIVENESS WAS EXPRESSED THROUGH A DIATRIBE ABOUT HOW WE HADN'T BROUGHT
T ENOUGH SUPPLIES AND THUS WERE ACTING IN BAD FAITH. THIS WAS EASILY REBUTTE
D AND THEY WERE PUT ON THE DEFENSIVE REGARDING THEIR FAILURE TO PRODUCE ON THE
HOSTAGES BUT IT MADE CLEAR THE NEED TO GET BEYOND THEIR LEVEL IF WE ARE TO
DO ANY SERIOUS BUSINESS HERE. THE MEETING ENDED ON A HARMONIOUS NOTE. THEY AS
KED THAT WE PROPOSE AN AGENDA FOR TODAY'S MEETINGS. WE DID SO LAST NIGHT; BAS
ically an abbreviated statement of the 100 pages of background material.

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KT

FOR THIS BREACH OF FAITH AND INSOLENT BEHAVIOR. THE

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EXPECTED TO BE CORRECTED FORTHWITH.

N 1335

THIS MORNING. AFTER APPARENTLY CONSIDERABLE INTERNAL TO AND FROM THEIR SIDE [REDACTED] WAS DISPATCHED TO APOLOGIZE AND TO SAY THAT THEY WANTED THE MEETINGS TO SUCCEED. (LATE ENTRY: BEGINNING WITH OUR ARRIVAL AND FREQUENTLY SIMPLE. GORBA HAS CONTINUED TO SAY "THE HOSTAGES WILL BE RELEASED AND THINGS ARE GOING IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION AND DON'T WORRY" AND OTHER RHETORICAL IRRELEVANCIES.) [REDACTED] ALSO SAID THAT THEIR LEADERS HAD DESIGNATED AN OFFICIAL WITH HIGHER AUTHORITY THAN THEY TO COME TO MEET WITH US THIS AFTERNOON (MONDAY). I MADE CLEAR THAT IF HE WAS COMING TO SPEND NEEDLESS TIME DISCUSSING THE SUFFICES OF OTHER FORMS OF NIGGLING THAT HE COULD DO SO WITH THE STAFF.

HE ARRIVED AT ABOUT 9:45 TONIGHT AND LASTED UNTIL JUST ABOUT 1:45 TUESDAY MORNING. AS IT TURNED OUT THIS MAN NAMED [REDACTED] WAS A CONSIDERABLE CUT ABOVE THE BUSH LEAGUERS WE HAD BEEN DEALING WITH. IN THE COURSE OF THE 4 HOUR MEETING IT BECAME EVIDENT THAT THE THREE IRANIAN LEADERS--RAFSANJANI, MUSAVI (PRIME MINISTER) AND KHAMENEI (PRESIDENT) ARE EACH TRAUMATIZED BY THE RECOLLECTION THAT AFTER BAZARGAN MET WITH BREZHNEV IN THE SPRING OF 1980, HE WAS DEPOSED (SO SIFUNG WAS POPULAR SENTIMENT AGAINST DOING BUSINESS WITH THE GREAT SATAN). TODAY THE FORCE OF EVENTS AND SELF INTEREST HAS BROUGHT THEM TO THE POINT OF REALIZING THAT WE DO HAVE SOME COMMON INTERESTS (VIS A VIS THE RUSSIANS, AFGHANISTAN AND PERHAPS EVEN AGAINST IRAQ.) BUT THEY STILL CANNOT OVERCOME THEIR HOPE IMMEDIATE PROBLEM OF HOW TO TALK TO US AND STAY ALIVE. BUT FROM THE TENDOR OF THIS LAST MAN [REDACTED] STATEMENTS, CONVICTION AND KNOWLEDGEABLE EXPRESSION OF WHAT IS POSSIBLE IN THE WAY OF A STABLE COOPERATIVE RELATIONSHIP. I BELIEVE WE HAVE FINALLY REACHED A COMPETENT IRANIAN OFFICIAL--AND THAT'S GOOD.

NEVERTHELESS WE CANNOT, IN MY JUDGMENT BE SMOOTHER BY SERIOUS DIALOGUE WITHOUT ACTS. THUS I DID NOT MEET WITH THIS MAN AS A FIRM SIGNAL THAT ALTHOUGH WE HAVE COME TO SET IN MOTION A SUSTAINED PROCESS. WE MUST FIRST SET ASIDE A NUMBER OF OBSTACLES--NOTABLY BY THE RELEASE OF THE HOSTAGES. THIS WAS FORCEFULLY STRESSED TO [REDACTED] TONIGHT AND WE HAVE RECEIVED THROUGHOUT THE DAY PERIODIC REAFFIRMATIONS THAT STEPS ARE IN MOTION, WE ARE WORKING ON IT. DON'T WORRY ETC ETC ETC. WITH THAT IN MIND, WHEN HE COMES BACK TOMORROW TO GO DISCUSS THE AGENDA, I INTEND TO HAVE HIM MEET WITH THE STAFF WITH PERHAPS AN INTERVENING SUMMONS FOR HIM

TO COME VISIT WITH ME TO TRY TO SET SOME SPECIFIC MILESTONES FOR MOVING AHEAD. THESE WOULD INCLUDE: 1. AN END TO THE EXTREME RHETORIC ON BOTH SIDES (ALTHOUGH WE WILL CALL IT AT IT IS IF THERE IS A RECURRENCE OF TERRORISM AGAINST US) 2. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A COMMUNICATIONS CAPABILITY BETWEEN US FULL TIME AS SOON POSSIBLE. 3. THE POSITIONING ON THE GROUND HERE A TECHNICAL EXPERT TO GET US AWAY FROM THESE ENDLESS EXCHANGES OF REQUESTS FOR ITEMS THEY DON'T NEED.

WITH REGARD TO THE HOSTAGES WE HAVE AND WILL CONTINUE TO MAKE CLEAR THAT THEIR RELEASE IS THE SINE QUA NON TO ANY FURTHER STEPS BETWEEN US. AND IF THAT HAS NOT HAPPENED BY TOMORROW NIGHT, THEY ARE AWARE THAT WE WILL LEAVE AND THAT THE BALANCE OF THIS SHIPMENT WILL NOT BE DELIVERED NOR WILL ANY ANALYSIS BE CONSIDERED.

AS TO MY JUDGMENT ON WHERE WE STAND, IT SEEMS CLEAR THAT WE ARE DEALING WITH PEOPLE AT THE TOP WHO: 1. UNDERSTAND THAT THEY HAVE AN IMPORTANT INTEREST

IN ORDER TO ESTABLISH A DIALOGUE THAT LEADS TO A MEASURE OF COOPERATION WITH

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1. US. 2. THAT DOING SO REQUIRES THAT THEY DELIVER ON CERTAIN KINDS OF BEHAVIOR
 A. E.G. RELEASE OF THE HOSTAGES AND NO FURTHER TERRORIST ACTS AGAINST US. 3. ARE
 RE VERY FEARFUL FOR THEIR OWN VULNERABILITY TO FRACTIONAL ATTACK IF THEY ARE DIS-
 COVERED IN THIS DIALOGUE BEFORE THEY CAN CONDITION THE PEOPLE TO A DIFFERENT
 PERCEPTION OF THE U.S. 4. ARE TRYING TO RUN A COUNTRY WITH ALMOST NO COMPETENT
 OFFICIALS BELOW THE VERY TOP AND NEED HELP.

SO WE ARE ON THE WAY TO SOMETHING THAT CAN BECOME A TRULY STRATEGIC GAIN FOR
 US AT THE EXPENSE OF THE SOVIETS. BUT IT IS GOING TO BE PAINFULLY SLOW. AS WE
 PROCEED WE CANNOT BE GULLED BY PROMISES OF WHAT WILL HAPPEN TOMORROW--AT 8:11
 PM THEY REALLY ARE RUG MERCHANTS. BUT LITTLE BY LITTLE WE CAN MAKE PROGRESS
 BECAUSE IT IS A MATTER OF SELF INTEREST FOR BOTH OF US TO DO SO.

I WILL GIVE YOU A MORE THOUGHTFUL FILL TOMORROW AFTER OUR MEETINGS--IT IS NOW
 3:35 A.M. LOCAL. I FEEL THAT WE HAVE ENTERED A SENSIBLE PROCESS AND FINALLY
 GOTTEN A COMPETENT INTERLOCUTOR ON THE OTHER SIDE. IF YOU HAVE ANY SPECIAL
 INSTRUCTIONS

BEFORE WE MEET TOMORROW PLEASE LET ME KNOW. *HOPE YOU HAD A NICE WEEKEND. YOUR
 GUYS ARE DOING A FANTASTIC JOB AS IS CAVE AND THE COMMUNICATOR WHO IS NEW
 R EATH.

THIS ENDED